

582 Hsing village the number of cousin marriages of any kind is small.
582 Rather than cousin marriage, Hsin Hsing villagers prefer marriage
612 with an outsider of no blood or previous affinal connection, i.e., with a
591 family with which they do not already have a *ch'in ch'i* relationship, as
was explained above. This results from their strong desire to extend
their circle of family or *ch'in ch'i* relationships to new families in other
villages with whom there is no prior *ch'in ch'i* relationship.

582 As several people of the area pointed out, "the villagers prefer to
584 arrange marriages between families whose relationships are good." Al-
612 though they think it may be all right to let their children marry a
relative (*ch'in ch'i*) if the relationship between the families is good, at
the same time they are not particularly interested in arranging such a
marriage and usually do not do so. There are many villagers who have
stronger feelings on the subject and think it unwise to arrange a
marriage with the family of a *ch'in ch'i*, since "they are afraid bad *han-
ch'ing* may develop between the two families if the daughter-in-law
and her husband's family do not get along well." They do not want to
risk endangering an already good *ch'in ch'i* relationship. As long as
the two families are on good terms, they think it is wise to leave well
enough alone, and this added to their preference for building new
ch'in ch'i relationships through marriage outside the village provide
strong support for outside marriages.

582 As already mentioned there are some marriages between cousins,
601 however, in the Hsin Hsing area. When it comes to cousin marriage,
though, there are very definite opinions as to which forms are accept-
able and which are not. There are three possible kinds, though they are
not equally regarded: (1) patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao
hsiang ch'in*); (2) matrilateral cross-cousin marriage (*ku piao hsiang
ch'in*)—in Hsin Hsing, at least, these first two elements (*ku piao*) are
again used rather than those of *chiu piao*, as sometimes reported by
anthropologists for mainland China areas and other parts of Tai-
wan;⁶ and (3) matrilateral parallel-cousin marriage (*i piao hsiang
ch'in*). Patrilateral parallel-cousin marriage is, of course, out of the
question because both young people bear the same surname.

582 In a patrilateral cross-cousin marriage a young man marries the
626 daughter of his father's sister, bringing her back to live in the home
590 of her mother's brother. She now bears the same surname her mother
551 had before marriage and belongs to the same kinship group; worse, in
835 village opinion, her husband and her mother in this sense share the
same name. The relationship is felt to be so close that the marriage is
almost incestuous. Such marriages are thus frowned upon, and people
827 talk about and criticize the two families for making such arrange-
ments. Some people even believe that when the blood ties between
families are so close, the children born of the union are likely to be

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[428] liēng-kiā: and one who is kūe-páng-kiā:. Yuzuru Okada quotes a proverb to the effect that a kūe-páng-kiā: receives a full share of an inheritance while a biēng-liēng-kiā: receives only a half share.¹ In

Hsiachichou, however, the only distinction between the biēng-liēng-kiā: and the kūe-páng-kiā: is in terms of their origin. Once they have been admitted as members of the adopting family, children who were formerly the sons of agnates and those who were the sons of non-agnates occupy the same position. They are both sons of their foster families. They take their foster parents' surname and are thus obliged to produce male children to perpetuate the family line, and they are equally entitled to a share of whatever inheritance the foster parents bequeath to their descendants. That one is of the blood of the family line while the other is not does not seem to be a matter of any concern in Hsiachichou. As one informant explained, "It doesn't matter where you adopt a son. Once you adopt him he is your son."

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*562 The situation of the adopted daughter is very different. Whereas adopted sons are distinguished in terms of their status before adoption, adopted daughters are distinguished with reference to their status after adoption. An adopted male is always a son of his foster parents, but an adopted female may occupy any one of several statuses. She may be a daughter of the family; she may be a potential wife and daughter-

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• 836 in-law; or she may be simply a family servant. The existence of these three categories is most clearly reflected in naming customs and the application of the incest taboo. A girl who becomes a daughter of the adopting family substitutes their surname for that of her natal family,

¹ Yuzuru Okada, Kiso Shaki, op. cit., p. 7.

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[835] and under no circumstances may she marry a member of her foster family or a member of their lineage. Her position in the family is the same as if she had been born into it. The girl who is adopted as a daughter-in-law always takes her foster family's surname as her own, but rather than entirely dropping her natal family's name she retains it in the second position, the same as a married woman. She is usually committed to marry some particular member of her foster family, and is perhaps best thought of as an unmarried bride of the family. The girl who is [34] adopted as a domestic servant does not in any way alter her kinship status as a result of the adoption. She retains the surname of her natal family as well as her original status with regard to marriage. She may later marry a member of her foster family, but the adoption does not commit her to such a marriage. She is an adopted daughter only in the limited sense that her parents have transferred jural authority over her to another family for some specified period of time.

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601 In Southern and Central Taiwan adopted females occupying these three statuses are referred to by different terms. A girl who is adopted as a daughter of her foster family is spoken of as a lông-lh, simply an "adopted daughter;" a girl who is adopted to marry a son of her foster family is referred to with the term sîn-pôh, "little daughter-in-law;" and a girl who is adopted as a domestic is spoken of as cī-bô-kân, a "female servant." In the case of Hsiachichou and Northern [184] Taiwan generally, however, these terminological distinctions are not consistently observed. Girls who are committed to marrying sons of their foster parents and those who are adopted as daughters of the

*584 Hsiachichou who did not. What is perhaps more important, when girls
*593 do find a husband outside the family they still bear a certain stigma.
*597 A girl who is adopted as a sīm-puā is in some sense married simply as
*562 a result of the adoption, regardless of whether or not she ever becomes
626 her foster brother's wife. If she later marries out of the family,
she is said to "have married twice," and is regarded with much the same
disparagement as the widow who remarries. When we asked one village
woman if a sīm-puā could marry out of her foster family, she answered
"Yes, you can do that, but it doesn't look good. People will say,
'Oh, that woman who married twice!'"

*514 We have seen in the last chapter that the sīm-puā marriage has
*597 several very real advantages over the preferred form of marriage. It
183 is much less expensive than the preferred marriage and it is also more
• 833 conducive to family harmony. Why was it then that most young people
refused to make such marriages as soon as they had acquired a voice in
the matter of their own marriage? Why was it that some girls preferred
prostitution to marrying their foster brothers? Why is it that the
parties to the sīm-puā marriage have always had to be "pushed together?"
When asked such questions many village informants answered in such a
way as to suggest that they found the idea of such a marriage per-
sonally distasteful. Several women told us that they thought that
marrying one's foster brother was bōu i-sū, "meaningless" or "dull;"
and a number of others indicated that they felt that such a marriage
was hiān-siū, "embarrassing." Although the sīm-puā marriage is
culturally recognized and socially acceptable, the impression we were

1584 given by many villagers was that they privately regard it as something
1597 very like incest. While we were told that marriage with a distant
183 clan mate is regarded as incest, none of our informants seemed to
835 display any personal revulsion in their attitudes toward such a union.
In the case of the sīn-pūa marriage, on the other hand, it was agreed
that no one could criticize a person for making such a marriage, but
at the same time most people seem to feel uncomfortable about the
idea of making such a marriage themselves. The discrepancy between
social and private attitudes to the sīn-pūa marriage is perhaps
most apparent in the behavior of those young people who refused to
make such a marriage. They realize that the marriage is proper and
feel guilty about not acquiescing in their parents' plans, but still
they say that they could not submit to the marriage "because it was
embarrassing."

Because of this embarrassment we were unable to get most of the
villagers to discuss their feelings about the sīn-pūa marriage in any
detail. Questions about the subject usually elicited the same kind of
response as questions about personal sexual habits. One of the few
exceptions was a young woman who talked to us at some length about her
reason for refusing to marry her foster brother. While we do not have
the information necessary to say that her reactions are typical, they
do at least seem congruent with the less specific reactions of other
informants.

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"My father was so mad at me when I didn't want to
marry my brother, but there was nothing he could do. I
just wouldn't do it, and I wouldn't run away either. There

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183 was nothing he could do. They couldn't just kick me out of the house. He used to get so mad at me that he wouldn't even talk to me, but now he seems to have gotten over that. Now he understands me better, and is nice to me."

Did he try to make you marry your brother?

"Of course. Everyone here tried very hard. He didn't say anything to me himself; he had my mother talk to me. All the neighbors helped, too. He also sent for my real mother to talk to me but she can't argue very well. When I said something to her she didn't know what to say next. The neighbors would say something to her, and she would get mad and come and scold me. I told her, 'I'm going to be very filial. It's not that I'm not filial. I just don't want to marry him. I will treat you even better later than I treat you now.' I tried very hard to be filial to her, but when I asked her to come and go to a movie or something, she would say, 'Oh, let's wait until he (the informant's foster brother) gets married.' But then she died just after he married. I tried very hard to be filial to her but I just didn't get the chance. Even now that I'm not married I don't feel bad about what I did. My brother and his wife are happy. If I had given in and married him, I am sure that we would dislike each other very much by now."

But don't lots of people who marry in this way get along pretty well?

"Well, those who really get along are very few. You can say that none of them like it. Really, it is meaningless to marry your foster brother. I really think it is meaningless. One day after I refused a friend of mine who married a mainlanders invited me to dinner at her house and my real father was there. After we had had dinner he began to scold me, telling me that I ought to marry my brother. I was so mad. I didn't like him in the first place, and when he did this I just felt that he was trying to lose my face and let everyone know that I wasn't filial. I got so mad my hands were cold, and I almost passed out. My mother was the one who bore me so she understood more, and she finally made him stop talking. But I was really mad. When I went home for a visit after my brother was married my father said to me, 'I don't see how you can stand it. Now can you go on living in that house? I would have thought that you would have run away a long time ago.' When you think about it, it is meaningless for me to go on living here, but I felt like telling him, 'Now can you think that I could come back here and get used to living with all of you again? From the time

- *584 I was a child I hated you for giving me away, so how could
*593 I live with you now?' But I didn't dare say this because
*597 they were my real parents."
• 835 Why did your father say that you should be embarrassed to go
183 on living here?

"After I had done this there was no point in my living here anymore. My foster mother was the only one who really liked me, and she was already dead then. There just wasn't any point to it anymore. But I just couldn't make myself think of going to live with my real parents. Not even now that I am older and understand it all. And I really don't see how my foster father could have tried to make me marry my brother. When he married his foster sister she ran away after two days and never came back again. I'm sure he must remember that, and so I don't see how he could want me to make such a marriage. His foster sister lives in Taipei now, and she lives very well. The one time I met her though she was very embarrassed. After she ran away she married again, and she now has a very good life."

Why didn't she run away before she was married?

"I don't know. I guess she was just better behaved than I am. But then after she married the more she thought about it the more meaningless it was, and so the only thing she could do was to run away. And I think that was the best thing for her to do."

Why do you say that it would have been meaningless for you to marry your foster brother?

"I don't know. I just couldn't do it. I felt embarrassed about it. At that time I thought to myself, 'It is just because I'm young and don't want to get married yet.' And I didn't want to get married but that wasn't the real reason. I think that it was because he was my brother. Marrying your brother! I felt embarrassed about it. I don't even talk to him now unless I have to. I don't know why it is, but I just feel embarrassed about it."

- *584 The parties to the preferred marriage or the matrilineal marriage
*597 do not ordinarily meet until they are biologically mature, but the
*593 man and woman who become husband and wife in the sin-pu marriage are
associated with one another from early childhood. A woman with male

*584 children may give away a recently born female child and adopt a sīm-pūā
*593 in her place, nursing her future daughter-in-law in place of her own
*597 daughter. Almost all sīm-pūā are adopted before the age of four, and
the average for girls in Hsiachichou is somewhere between the ages of
two and three. Although a sīm-pūā is a daughter-in-law in her foster
family insofar as her marriage status is concerned, the relation
between her and her future husband during their childhood is more like
[561] that of brother and sister. As children they address one another as
[513] brother and sister; they play and eat together just as do the other
children of the family; and in most families they share the same sleep-
ing platform with their parents until they are nine or ten years of
age. At a later age when they have been made aware of their future
relationship as husband and wife, they may choose to avoid one another
to some extent, but this is not socially required of them. The in-
dividual attitudes of the villagers and the general mores of the
community seem to agree that a sīm-pūā and her foster brother are
brother and sister until they become husband and wife.

*584 Although there are undoubtedly other factors which enter into
*597 the reactions of many villagers to the sīm-pūā form of marriage, our
*593 suggestion is that the rejection of this form of marriage is primarily
*121 the result of a sexual aversion arising out of their childhood asso-
153 ciation. It is possible that in growing up in a situation in which
• 835 they are identified as "brother" and "sister," the couple comes to
think of themselves as real siblings. They therefore find the thought
of marriage "embarrassing" because it is generally taboo for any

* 584 brother and sister to marry. The effect of their childhood associa-
* 597 tion is to create conditions which result in a generalization of the
* 593 incest taboo. Another possible interpretation is that the very fact
* 721 of their intimate childhood association is itself directly respon-
• 835 sible for this feeling of aversion. As Edward Westermarck suggested
153 some eighty years ago, it may be that the incest taboo is a conse-
quence of "intimate and prolonged childhood association." In Wester-
marck's words, "the fundamental cause of exogamous prohibitions seems
to be the remarkable absence of erotic feelings between persons living
very closely together from childhood, leading to a positive feeling of
aversion when the act is thought of."¹ The first hypothesis suggests
that foster siblings are averse to the idea of their sexual union be-
cause they consider themselves brother and sister, while the second
hypothesis suggests that they reject the idea of their union because
they have lived together as brother and sister.

Which of these two interpretations is correct must unfortunately
remain a moot question so far as these data are concerned. The two
crucial variables are experimentally confounded. The parties to the
sīm-pūh marriage grow up in conditions which identify them as brother
and sister, and they also experience a prolonged and intimate associa-
tion from early childhood. But regardless of whether the crucial
antecedent condition is their sibling identification or their early and
prolonged contact, it seems clear that most of the parties to the sīm-
pūh marriage do experience a real aversion to the idea of their sexual
union. Aside from the reports of many villagers that such marriages

1 Edward Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, (London:
Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1921), Vol. II, p. vi.

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wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

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Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.